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ABSTRACT

Identification is a learning process important to the development of self-concept and to the role behavior of an individual. This study investigated the degree of race and sex identification and preference in both black and white disadvantaged preschool children. The measurement instrument developed was a 96-item paired picture selection task consisting of 13 sub-series of items that examined race and sex identification, race and sex preference, race labeling, color labeling and preference, and the dominance of race or sex criteria in subjects' response patterns. The sample was comprised of 168 4-year-old black and white children from Head Start and day care centers. The data revealed that: (1) white children identified with their own sex more than did black children, (2) white children and black children both identified with and preferred the white race, (3) black examiners didn't increase the black children's preference for the black race, (4) boys preferred their own sex less than did girls, with no difference between the races, (5) sex was the dominant selection criterion for all groups, (6) no relationship appeared between preference for the white race and expressed preference for color, and (7) half the subjects pointed to the same picture whether it was labeled "good" or "bad." (Author/MH)

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RACE AND SEX IDENTIFICATION IN PRESCHOOL CHILDREN

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Identification may be described as the process by which an individual ascribes to himself the features of another person or persons and makes them a corporate part of his own personality. It is a learning process, of primary importance in the socialization of the individual. The term identification has its roots in personality theory and is often used synonymously with the term imitation which comes from behavior theory. There is little agreement as to how the process takes place but general agreement that it contributes much to the self-concept and role behavior of the individual.

Jersild (1952) describes the self-concept, the way an individual sees himself and thus the way he will behave, as the end product of the identification process. If a child's models, those he will imitate informing his own identity, reflect a negative self-concept then we might assume that the child will incorporate this negative feeling into his own personality.

Since a child's total self-concept must include many personality variables, a number of which we cannot yet even define, it would be an impossible and presumptuous task to attempt to measure the self-concept with one instrument or one technique. It is possible, however, to take a narrower view and to choose to examine certain

variables which we suspect contribute strongly to the child's image of himself. The aspects of self-concept with which this study was concerned were those of race and sex identification.

Research indicates that the process of race identification is first manifested in the young child by race awareness. As early as three years of age the child is able to recognize that there are differences in the skin color of the people around him and is able to place himself as a member of a particular racial group, black or white. We are not sure of the basis on which the child is choosing at this age or of the degree of conceptualization the child is exhibiting in being able to classify himself in this manner.

The next step in the identification process might be the affect, negative or positive, that a child shows for himself as a member of a particular racial group. A way of looking at a child's feelings about his own racial group are to find out which race he shows preference for and which kinds of feelings he projects upon members of his own and other racial groups. Research has shown that even the four-year-old child is already exhibiting a preference for the white race, that race which is dominant and privileged in our society.

Sex identification in the young child is first manifested in the child's ability to label himself as a boy or girl and this ability is apparent even earlier than three years of age. We have little information as to the cues a child uses to label himself by sex but when a child labels others by sex he apparently uses overt cues such as clothing and hair style rather than the real defining physical characteristics. Later in the identification process, the child takes on a

sex-role identity and may come to behave in certain ways according to his perception of himself as masculine or feminine. The problem of coming up with a behavioral definition of sex-role identification, measuring the degree of sex-role identification in a child in terms of his masculinity or femininity, is a complicated one. Attempts have been made to measure this by the toys a child selects, by his selection of playmates and by his observed behavior in certain predetermined masculine or feminine behaviors. A way of measuring degree of sex-role identification could be in terms of expressed preference for one sex or the other. It must be considered, however, that sex preference is likely to be much more subject to age variation fluctuation than is race preference which may be less subject to change.

The matter of sex-role identification is confounded by the wide divergence in the standards for masculine or feminine behavior assigned by different cultural and social class groups within our society. It is further complicated by the fact that poorly identified individuals may manifest their inadequate own-sex identification by exhibiting over exaggerated forms of own-sex behavior. Poor identification has been blamed upon inadequate parent models, absent models, such as in father-absent boys, and upon negative images of a particular sex role within a certain social class or racial group.

The effect of membership in a particular social class or racial group upon the race and sex identification process and outcome in young children is a problem which has interested researchers for at least thirty years. There is autobiographical, clinical and empirical evidence which indicates that membership in a color-caste based

sub-culture, such as the black sub-culture, contributes significantly to the faulty identification and concomitant negative self-concept believed to be prevalent in the black lower class.

The major thrust of this study was to pursue the investigation of the differences in race and sex identification, both awareness and preference, in four-year-old black and white boys and girls from low SES families. The subjects were drawn from Head Start and from day care centers. Hypotheses were formulated to attempt to verify or disprove the findings of earlier research in this area.

A parallel methodological concern dealt with the problems of assessing personality variables in preschool children. An instrument was developed to test the hypotheses and to answer certain other related but subsidiary questions. In developing such a test, an attempt was made to avoid the methodological problems of the instruments used in earlier investigations into race and sex identification, as described in the following chapter. In addition to problems relating specifically to the areas under investigation, the psychometric hazards in designing any instrument to measure personality variables in young children were considered. These included such factors as lack of verbal experience, limited cognitive development, temporal instability of young children's responses and the effect of the race of the examiner upon responses (Brown, 1966; Pettigrew, 1964).

Following the review of the literature in the next chapter, a description of the procedures followed in this investigation is presented in Chapter 3. The results of the study are found in Chapter 4; the summary and discussion of the findings along with suggestions for further research in Chapter 5.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

I. Race awareness, identification and preference

The earliest investigation into the development of race awareness in young children was a study by Horowitz (1939). On the basis of responses from only sixteen male subjects, two to five years of age, Horowitz reported that when black subjects were given a choice between pictures of white and black children they were able to successfully identify themselves by race. When given only one choice, either white or black, they were not successful in self-identification. White subjects, on the contrary, had better success with one picture and showed more spontaneous verbalization than the black subjects. Horowitz made many psychoanalytical interpretations of the data which were probably not justified in view of the small N but the study does have considerable methodological interest; the aspects of which will be discussed in a later section.

A series of studies conducted by Kenneth and Mamie Clark, (1939a, 1939b, 1940, 1941), brought research on race awareness and preference into focus and much of the work which has been done since is based on their methodology. Their first work (Clark and Clark, 1939a) was a variation of the Horowitz (1939) study. It was in this study that the idea that race consciousness might be a strong factor in the self-

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concept of the child was put forward. The study, using one hundred fifty, three- to five-year-old Negro boys, indicated that the largest increases in successful identification came between three and four years of age and that there was very little increase between four and five. This study indicated strongly that race awareness is developmental and is achieved by the fourth year. Pursuing their research, Clark and Clark (1939b), in a study of segregated and racially mixed schools, found that black children in segregated schools were more successful in self-identification than were those in the racially mixed schools. These findings begin to get at the possible relationship between the ability of a child to identify himself by race and his actual race preference. There are indications from this study that exposure to other races is a factor in race identification and that race preference could be a confounding factor. Another variable studied by the Clarks was the effect of lightness or darkness of skin upon Negro children's ability to identify by race (Clark and Clark, 1940). The results showed that the lighter the skin of the subject, the fewer correct self-identifications he made. This led the Clarks to report:

> It is obvious that these children are not identifying on the basis of "race" because race is a social concept which they learn at a higher stage in their development. They are, however, definitely identifying on the basis of their own skin color which is to them a concrete reality.

The Clarks' most definitive study attempted to get at the relationship between racial identification and the genesis of racial attitudes in young children (Clark and Clark, 1941). From this study

came the Clark Dolls Test which was used, subsequently, by many researchers. Dolls with identical features but with black or white skin were utilized and the 253 Negro subjects were asked to select black or white on eight different items measuring such factors as race labeling, ("give me the one that looks like the colored child"); race identification, ("give me the doll that looks like you"); and race preference, ("give me the doll that is a nice color"). The subjects, four to seven years of age, showed almost perfect ability to identify the dolls labeled "white" and "colored" and less ability to label the "Negro" doll. Racial self-identification ability was not as high as racial recognition and, surprisingly, was worse at five years than it was at four. This finding indicates again that there may be a heavy relationship between self-identification and preference since on this test the majority of Negro children preferred the white doll and rejected the black doll. The preferences of Northern black children were slightly stronger than Southerners and the authors noted further that in many cases the subjects showed a clear emotional reaction when asked to make race preference choices. This same kind of negative affect was also reported in a study of racial awareness in three- and five-year-old white upper class and black and white lower class children (Landreth and Johnson, 1953). Aside from their emotional reaction, black children were found to be aware of race differences at an earlier age than whites and showed higher preference for white over dark skin. The white subjects appeared less involved emotionally in the test and treated it as a cognitive object-matching task. Horowitz (1939) also reported more spontaneous verbalization from white

subjects during the race identification task.

The Clark Dolls Test was utilized by Gregor and McPherson (1966a, 1966b) to investigate regional differences in racial attitudes and preferences among black and white children. The investigators administered the Clark test to Bantu and white children in segregated South Africa and black and white children in the segregated South. The results show that in both regions, black children scored very high on race labeling, not so high on self-identification and showed preference for the white dolls. Only eight out of 92 black children in the South would respond to the item, "show me the doll that looks bad." The few who responded at all chose the black doll as the bad one but again, the reluctance to respond indicates strong negative affect. The white children in these studies were high on race labeling, higher than blacks on self-identification and preferred the white dolls. One explanation of the racial differences in race awareness and in self-identification is provided by Morland (1958). He found that white children in Virginia were more successful than black children in race labeling and explains this as a result of whites having had contact with blacks but not the reverse. This pattern persists, however, not only in the segregated south. Goodman (1952), in her detailed qualitative study of black and white nursery school children in Boston, found the same results in an integrated environment. When asked, "Are you white or are you colored?", only half the black children said "colored" and nearly one hundred percent of the white children said "white." This question was phrased the same as Morland's but the similarities in results cannot be explained in the same way. As in the

Landreth and Johnson work, the Goodman study showed that black children were more emotionally involved in the questioning and showed a strong preference for white. Goodman was also able to trace the development of race awareness through three stages: from perception to vocabulary to concept. This study again reiterates the two explanations which seem to carry the most weight. One is that white children's responses are more accurate because of a higher stage of concept development or cognition. The difficulty of matching black and white groups by SES (Lott and Lott, 1963) must be considered if this theory is to have any merit. The other strong possibility is that racial self-identification is closely tied in with the more affective variable of race preference and that black children show less ability to identify themselves by race because of the contamination of negative affect. A unique interpretation of lower racial self-identification and high white preference in Negro children is presented by Stevenson and Stewart (1958). Their results are similar to the other studies but they explain these not by ego problems but by the simple fact that in Texas where the study was conducted, the white children have no exposure to black children and the black children are subjected to constant exposure to whites through the media: television, books, magazines and dolls. This theory, of course, is in opposition to the one put forward by Morland (1958) but it certainly merits some careful consideration and further investigation.

Stevenson and Stewart (1958) bring out the fact of the stronger awareness on the part of young children to sex differences as opposed to race differences. When presented with items where they could

choose on the basis of sex or race, sex was always dominant. This is a finding of particular interest in the present study.

There is considerable question as to how a negative racial attitude is formed at such an early age. A series of studies by J. E. Williams and his associates might give us a clue to this development. Williams (1964) first demonstrated, using the semantic differential with young adults, that color names have distinctive evaluative meanings. When subjects rated ten color names, white was rated consistently the most positively ("good") and black the most negatively ("bad"). The next step in the series was to see if the evaluative connotations of color names could be conditioned to terms. Harbin and Williams (1966) found that this was possible with nonsense syllables. Williams (1966) carried the process a step further and found that the evaluative connotations of the words "white," "black," "red," "yellow" and "brown" were rated closely with the evaluative connotations of the racial groups which these colors represent. His conclusion was that "the association of color names with racial groups may influence the manner in which these groups are perceived."

To examine the development of color word connotations and racial awareness, Renninger and Williams (1966) explored the relationship between black and white animal pictures and words with positive and negative connotations such as "good," "clean," "nice," "happy" and "bad," "dirty," "naughty," "sad." They showed that the tendency to relate positive words with white and negative with black was present at three years and was even more evident at four and five. Williams and Roberson (1967) developed the Preschool Racial Attitude Measure (PRAM)

using pictures of human figures, identical in all respects except for hair and skin color. Subjects, all white Southern children, had a strong tendency to indicate the "white" figure whenever a positive adjective was asked for. The conclusions of the foregoing two studies were that although color evaluations and racial attitudes may not be functionally related, they appear to develop together. The final available studies in the series (Williams and Edwards, 1968; Edwards and Williams, 1968), used the Preschool Racial Attitude Measure (PRAM) as the instrument in studies designed to modify color concept attitudes and to measure degree of transfer of these modifications to racial concept attitudes. Again, white children were used and the research indicated that preschoolers color concept attitudes could be modified using operant techniques although the end product was not a consistent reversal of connotation but rather an absence of a consistent evaluative response to the colors. The transfer test indicated a small but significant functional link between the black-white concept attitudes and the racial concept attitudes shown in the PRAM. The preceeding series of studies indicates how research can proceed in carefully though out steps. The next step would seem to be an attempt to develop curricula for classroom use which might endeavor to modify racial concept attitudes in both black and white children. It is unfortunate that only white subjects were used in these studies. The most serious criticism of the studies is, however, the instrument, the Preschool Racial Attitudes Measure (PRAM) which was examined by this writer and found to have many defects which could have distorted the data. The figures are basically Caucasian in features and appearance;

the only difference between the so-called black and white figures is that the "white" figure has skin painted pink and yellow hair while the "black" figure is painted a very unbecoming brown with black hair. In my opinion, the black figures are actually unnatural and offensive looking and do not at all have the facial features, hair or skin qualities of any black person, stereotyped as these may be. The test is further confusing in its blatant use of middle class values and a verbal stimulus pattern which, because of its length, would confound all but the brightest of middle class white children. This rules out the usefulness of this instrument for a wider population racially and socioeconomically. Each pair of pictures has a story consisting of three or four sentences about subjects who are clean or dirty, who work after school, who help their mothers around the house, come home on time for dinner, share with their friends, don't start fights and study very hard at school. It is unfortunate that such a sound theoretical approach may show results distorted by a questionable instrument.

A further look at instruments designed to examine race awareness, self identification and preference is essential to this study since its prime purpose is to improve upon what has been in use previously. The materials used by Horowitz (1939) consisted of a pair of photogrpahs, a pair of line drawings and a series of single portraits. Photographs were used also in the Morland (1958) study. The use of photographs is appealing since with this media, particularly at the present time with high quality color photographs, one can get as close as possible to real life figures. The use of only one pair of pictures

in the above studies leave them open to criticism, however. Other problems are the difficulty of standardizing or controlling extraneous aspects of the photographs such as clothing, facial expression and hair style. The expense of producing a whole series of well standardized photographs would be problematic and costly but this writer feels that it is a methodology which would be well worth pursuing. Drawings have been used extensively (Horowitz, 1939; Landreth and Johnson, 1953; Williams and Roberson, 1967; Stevenson and Stewart, 1958; Goodman, 1952) and descriptions of these pictures generally indicate that they are identical in features, hair quality and dress; varying only in skin color. Although we must accept that there is no definite stereotype of the white or black, there are generalized differences in facial features and hair quality which certainly ought to be taken into consideration as variables possibly as important as skin color. The Clark Dolls Test (Clark and Clark, 1941), represents an ingenious, straightforward way of attempting to study the three racial variables: labeling, self-identification and preference. The main criticisms of this method are the cost of the materials, the possibility of too few items to get reliable data and, most important, the fact that all the dolls were from the same mold and had the same features. Only the skin color was varied and even this may not have looked like real pigmented skin but rather like a white doll painted brown.

A final measurement problem can be generalized to all instruments to be used with preschoolers, particularly disadvantaged children of limited language ability. Often, the verbal cues or directions provided to him are so lengthy and complicated as to add another

confounding variable to his choice behavior. Preschoolers, put in a forced choice test situation will generally make a response or choice. If they do not comprehend the instructions or the meanings of the words or if their attention span is too short for them to listen until the instructions are finished, the chances are that they are answering on some other basis than the verbal cue. The Preschool Racial Attitude Measure (PRAM, Williams and Roberson, 1967) has been mentioned as a test with these kinds of problems while the Clark Dolls Test (Clark and Clark, 1941) has very short simple instructions which are probably understood by most preschoolers.

There is some question as to whether the findings of instruments measuring race preference may in fact be related to the interactions and associations between racial groups in a school situation. Expressed preference for own or other racial group might be one way of validating a test instrument. Observed interaction in interracial situations is another. The research in this area is rather sketchy and the findings are anything but consistent. Morland (1962) in a study of Southern school children found that the majority of black children expressed the desire to play with children of the other race while white children preferred playmates of their own race. Goodman (1952) found the same expressed preferences in her subjects, yet on observation in a biracial preschool environment found that black-black contacts were higher than chance, black-white contacts were at chance level and white-white contacts were below chance. Her interpretation of these observations was, however, that personality variables accounted for these relationships rather than racial variables.

Stevenson and Stevenson (1960) observed that although two- and three-year-old subjects in an interracial nursery school in Texas exhibited many examples of awareness of racial differences, race did not appear to be a factor in interaction. There appears to be considerable need for further research in this area.

II. Effect of the race of the examiner

The effect of the race of the examiner on the response of children on personality measures has received very little attention. Clark and Clark (1940) when studying the effect of skin color in black children upon their racial identifications noted that the examiner was of medium skin color for control. The race of the examiner is not mentioned in the other studies but with the exception of the Clarks' studies, it is presumed that they were all white. There seems to be little information available on the developmental aspects of the social awareness of preschoolers; the type of awareness which might cause a respondent to change a response according to his perception of what is socially acceptable to the interviewer. This writer, while pilot testing pictures for this study noted an incident where a black child who was consistently showing preference for white items appeared to switch her responses when a black examiner began observing the test.

The available literature in this area is concerned with older subjects. Summers, Hammonds and Andre (1966) found that when college students were interviewed by a black examiner on racial issues, they tended to give more "socially acceptable" answers. The authors state:

> Failure to take into account the interaction of the investigator and respondent could lead to contradictory findings which are indeed artifacts of the data collection procedure being employed.

Similar results of respondents giving more socially acceptable answers about racial problems when the interviewer was a member of the minority group under discussion were reported by Hyman (1954), Athey, Coleman and Reitman (1960) and Bryant, Gardner and Goldman (1966).

The forced role-playing behavior of the Negro is an important methodological consideration in gathering research data. Pettigrew (1964) reports the negative effect upon blacks when they are forced into playing the role of the "inferior," associated closely with skin color, which has been assigned to them by the dominant white society. When Negroes were asked questions about their attitudes toward whites and about discrimination against them, there were large and significant differences in responses depending upon whether white or black interviewers were utilized. Reissman (1962) cites the case of a young Negro boy whose IQ scores and personality ratings showed marked improvement simply as a result of having observed his white tester in a warm relationship with a black therapist in the same office. Findings of this nature show up the need to consider the possibility that the race of the examiner can affect any study involving personality variables related to race.

III. <u>Effect on the self-concept of membership in a racial minority</u>

Now, a look at the research which deals with the effect upon the self-concept of membership in a racial minority. Many of the best

descriptions of these effects are found in the works of black writers. Ellison (1952) sees the black man as an "invisible man" identified by himself and others only by his color and by none of his other human qualities.

Clinical evidence of poor self-esteem among black young people was shown in a study by Mussen (1953) who compared responses on the TAT of Negro and white youths. He reports:

> The Negro youths typically told stories in which the hero, presumably themselves, is hated, reprimanded, restricted or injured whereas white youths generally fashioned heroes who, unencumbered by environmental barriers, were greatly adminer and respected.

Pettigrew (1963) sees the problem of the "role" of the Negro as being a crucial variable in the development of his personality and hence in his identification and self-concept. The Negro is seen as having to play a dual personality role; one as a member of his own sub-culture and the other to fit the expectations of the larger society which forces him to play the role of the inferior. He says:

> At the personality level, such enforced role adoption divides the individual Negro both from other human beings and from himself..... he runs the risk of confusing this (inferior) role as being as essential part of himself and this can have a debilitating effect upon his self-concept.

Pettigrew cites the research on the drastic and lasting effects of therapeutic role-playing, even in an artificial milieu, upon attitudes, values and conceptions of self. He suggests that the Negro's "real-life" role playing may have an even stronger effect in a negative direction. In a projective doll play study of children's perceptions of

the social roles of Negroes and whites, Radke and Trager (1950) found that both black and white children assigned poorer housing and lower status occupations to black dolls. Robert Coles (1965) studied the drawings of black children in the South. He found that the drawings showed significant differences in the size of blacks and whites drawn. The black figures were drawn smaller and often with missing or mutilated body parts. It was further noted that black children showed an inconsistent use of color when depicting themselves. Some children did not want to draw themselves as black while others "compensated" by drawing whites a light shade of brown. Thus we have an indication of what societal norms can do to the self-esteem of a minority group. A summary statement by Kenneth Clark (1955) seems in order:

> Not only have "instinct" theories been refuted by research of the past thirty years but social scientists are now convinced that children learn social, racial and religious prejudices in the course of observing and being influenced by the existence of patterns in the culture in which they live.

IV. Sex identification, sex role identity and self-concept

The ability of a child to identify himself by sex is apparent from the age of three and is fully developed by seven years when he has adquired the concepts "male" and "female" (Gesell, 1940; Hartup and Zook, 1960; Kagan, 1964). In this period, says Kagan:

> The child gradually realizes that people fall into one of two related language categories--boys or girls, men or women, fathers or mothers. The early discrimination of social objects into these distinct classes is facilitated by the presence of a variety of clearly discriminable cues, including dress, bodily form and proportion, strength, distribution of hair, depth of voice, posture at the

> toilet.....and the characteristic behavior in the kitchen, the garage or the backyard.

We might expect that the younger the child, the more naive the cues he would select, say hair style and dress, in labeling a picture by sex. The cognitive-developmental theory of Kohlberg (1966) offers a different theoretical approach to the way in which a child organizes sex-role concepts. His theory suggests that gender identity, the cognitive self-categorization as "boy" or "girl" is the critical and basic organizer of sex-role attitudes. Once established, Kohlberg believes the gender identity is irreversible. He agrees that in the third year of life the child knows his own sex label and is able to generalize it to others on the basis of a cluster of physical characteristics. The child is confused in gender labeling until the age of five or six. Sex-role identity is defined by Kagan (1964) as the degree to which an individual regards himself as masculine or feminine. Mead (1952) confirms that sex-roles and the development of identification with these roles is culture wide. Kagan sees the major determinants of this identity being the child's perception of similarity to a parent (the covert response) and the degree to which he is able to behave in the culturally accepted manner for his sex (the overt response).

Mowrer (1950) views identification with the same-sex parent as being a crucial variable in the development of sex identification. The process is, therefore, more difficult for boys since they must switch their identification early from mother to father. Failure to make this switch adequately may result in damaged self-concept.

A series of studies (Sears, Maccoby and Levin, 1957; Mussen and

Distler, 1959; Sears, Rau and Alpert, 1965), have investigated factors contributing to the process of sex-role identification. Briefly, the conclusions were that child rearing practices, social class position, the child's perception of the same-sex parent and father presence or absence were the important variables. In regard to child rearing practices as a variable, Davis and Havighurst (1946) and Sears (1957) reported that social class position rather than ethnic group membership was the crucial variable in common child rearing practices. Sears used no black subjects in his sample, however, and Wortis et al. (1968),using Sears measures on lower class Negroes, found that "racially-based cultural differences may be much more important than within-class similarities." Lott and Lott (1963) and Deutsch (1960) note the difficulty of matching white and black groups by social class at all. Social class ratings are generally computed on the basis of education, occupation and residence (as in Hollingshead and Redlich, 1958). Deutsch found that when education was held constant, Negroes held more menial jobs than their white counterparts and reported concomitantly lower incomes. Both researchers found that when SES was held constant, blacks had a higher crowding ratio, a larger percentage of absent fathers, and more working mothers.

Kardiner and Ovesey (1951) report a negative attitude on the part of Negro mothers for boy babies. They have concluded from their clinical data that there may be a basic or characteristic personality type for the lower class black sub-culture which arises from a family structure dating back to the period of slavery when marriage and family ties were not acknowledged by slave owners. Males were regularly

removed from their wives and children, leaving the female as head of the family. This arbitrary creation of the matrifocal black family has tended to be self-perpetuating, at least within the lower social class and it is a fact that even today blacks remain in the lowest social classes in disproportionate numbers.

Some additional family structure variables which may be related to faulty sex role identification in Negro males are father absence and the attachment of negative value to the male role in the black sub-culture. Pettigrew (1964) reports that only two-thirds of black children under eighteen are living with both parents as compared with ninety percent of the white population. Yarrow (1966) observes, that, in some cultures, lack of male models results in overcompensatory masculine behavior. These are the types of behaviors associated with the one-sex peer group or delinquent gang, found in lower class communities. Short (1966) describes these over exaggerated overt masculine behaviors as a strong dependency relationship manifested in highly masculine, aggressive behavior, the only method of escape for the mother-dominated, poorly identified young man. At the same time, Pettigrew (1964), in a study of fatherless 5-14 year-old black boys, found that they had difficulty in differentiating between male and female roles. This may relate to the fact that many black, low SES fathers are either absent, unemployed or in occupations which are generally considered "women's work."

Bach (1946) theorized that children's attitudes toward absent fathers were influenced by the mother's expressed feelings toward the father. He seems to infer that boys with absent fathers are more

likely to have sex-role identity problems if the mother's attitude is hostile. Mussen and Distler's (1959) research supports this idea with the finding that father perception is the important variable in identification.

Rabban (1950) found that sex roles were more clearly defined in the lower classes and that children in this class had a clearer picture of male and female roles. There were no black subjects used in this study and the findings do not agree with Pettigrew's (1964) results. The more recent research (Coleman, 1966; Barclay and Cusumano, 1967) indicates that although father absence may be a factor in the sex role identification of some groups it is less a factor in the black sub-culture. In this group sex-role identity was found to be a problem regardless of father presence or absence. These findings may again be due to the negative image placed upon the male in the Negro culture. This is an image which may be in the process of change (Kvaraceus et al, 1965) because of the effort on the part of community action groups to improve the image and self-concept of the black male.

The most common instruments for measuring sex identification, sex-role identity or masculinity-femininity in young children have been toy preference tests such as those of Brown (1956) and De Lucia (1963). Children select from a choice of toys previously designated as masculine or feminine and the direction of their selection determines the degree of masculinity or femininity. The Brown (1956) It Scale invites the subject to select toys for the "It," a supposedly asexual character. The assumption is made that the child will ascribe his own sex to the "It," an assumption not completely substantiated in

the literature (Brown, 1962). Another instrument, the Parental Imitation Scale (Hartup, 1962), makes the assumption that the child's preference for like-sex parent is a measure of degree of sex-role identity. This assumption is also not completely supported in the literature. Probably the most serious problem with the Hartup scale is the complicated technique which requires the child to attend to a series of lengthy stories and to manipulate dolls within situations. The Preschool Racial Attitude Measure (PRAM, Williams and Roberson, 1967), previously discussed under measures of race identification and preference devotes one-half of its twenty-four item attitude sub-scale to examining the child's sex-role behaviors which the authors claim may be used as a check of the child's general conceptual development. A series of stories, rather long and loaded with white middle class values (Example: "Which one wants to be a policeman?"; "Which one likes to play cowboys and Indians?") are read to the subject who is shown a male and female figure, either both white or both Negro. The subject is asked to select on the basis of what constitutes a masculine or feminine activity. The poor quality of the picture stimuli has been mentioned earlier.

Bennett (1968) attempted to overcome the problems of the Brown (1956) and Hartup (1962) measures by developing a sticker choice test which is, in effect, another toy selection task. She administered the It Test, the Hartup Parental Imitation Scale and her own Sticker Choice Test to 160 preschool children and found that the sticker selection task correlated highly with the It Test but had few significant correlations with the Hartup instrument. Bennett's instrument is

shorter and less confusing than the other tests but the methodology of validating a new instrument against old measures of questionable merit can always be criticized. Bennett's variables were sex, age, race and family structure. She found that all three tests distinguished girls from boys, that age was a factor for girls but not for boys, that race was significant for both boys and girls and family structure significant for girls only.

CHAPTER 3

EXPERIMENTAL DESIGN AND PROCEDURE

Design of the Investigation

The research presented in the review of the literature has shown that, although four-year-old children successfully identify by both race and sex, there are differences in the degree of success in identification on these dimensions according to whether the subject is male or female, black or white. The research further indicates that there is a strong preference on the part of black subjects for the white race and that preference may be a confounding factor in the ability of black children to identify themselves by race. Studies indicate also that black boys may exhibit sex-role identity problems as manifested by their lack of strong preference for males and some confusion for the male role. Although research is lacking in the area of the effect of the race of the examiner in expressed racial preference of preschool subjects, there is some indication that this is a variable worthy of study.

The instrument, described in detail in this chapter, consisted of several sub-series of items; each designed to test one of the hypotheses or to deal with a subsidiary question.

This investigation posed certain questions based on the research summarized above and set up hypotheses to answer or to verify these

questions. For the first hypothesis there was no expectation of verification based on previous studies while for Hypotheses Two through Five there is apparently some support in the literature.

Hypotheses

1. White children will identify with their own sex more successfully than will black children.

2. White children will identify with their own race more successfully than will black children.

3. White children will show higher preference for their own race than will black children.

4. Black children will show higher preference for their own race when black examiners are utilized.

5. Black boys will show less preference for their own sex than white boys while there will be no difference in sex preference between black and white girls.

Subjects

The subjects were 168 children drawn from 13 Los Angeles area Children's Centers and Head Start Child Development Centers. The age range of subjects was from 3 years 9 months to 4 years 9 months. This age range was selected as being representative of the prekindergarten age group. Testing was carried on in the month of July, 1968 and the majority of the subjects had been enrolled in their respective preschool programs since Fall, 1967.

Approximately one half of the subjects were black and one half white. One half were girls and one half boys. The distribution of subjects by race, sex and race of examiner appears in Table 1.

TABLE 1

DISTRIBUTION OF SUBJECTS BY RACE, SEX, AND RACE OF EXAMINER

		WHITE EXAMINER	BLACK EXAMINER	TOTAL
WHITE	BOYS	18	20	38
	GIRLS	20	19	39
BLACK	BOYS	20	24	44
	GIRLS	20	27	47
TOTAL		78	90	168

Subjects were selected from centers where the racial composition was all white, all black and racially mixed. All subjects were considered to have come from low SES families. The black children were from the ghetto areas of South Central Los Angeles and Venice while the white children were from low SES neighborhoods in Mar Vista, Vernon City, Huntington Park and Hawaiian Gardens. The racially mixed groups were from Long Beach and Venice. All these areas are within Los Angeles County. It is interesting to note that the demographic history of the subjects' families was somewhat similar; many of the families having migrated from the Southern states within the last twenty-five years.

Only those children who finished the test were accepted in the subject sample. Five subjects were dropped from the sample for refusing to take the test or for obviously not understanding the procedure.

Description of the Test Instrument

The instrument was a 96 item, paired picture selection task designed to test the hypotheses and to examine the subsidiary related problems. A description of all the test items appears in Appendix A.

For each item, the child selected one picture from a pair of 4" X 5" drawings of black and white human figures of boys, girls, men and women. In each pair of items, careful attention was paid to controlling similarity of clothing, facial expression and whether the drawing was full body or head and shoulders only. An attempt was made to come close to a fair depiction of the skin color and facial

features of both races. To further increase the fair representation of each racial group, a large number of different poses were drawn. A few silhouettes or doll figures were included in the items.

In the color identification and color preference sub-tests, 4" x 5" pieces of construction paper were presented side by side. The colors white, black, brown and red were used in all combinations. All stimulus pictures were randomized for right-left positioning.

The main test was broken down into 13 different sub-tests; the items of which were randomized throughout the instrument. Each sub-test was related either to one of the hypotheses or to one of the subsidiary analyses. A list of the 13 sub-tests, the hypothesis or supplementary analysis to which they are related, the number of items in each together with the differential scoring technique used in the analysis appears in Table 2. Some items were used in more than one sub-test.

The first sub-test, consisting of four items, was designed to test Hypotheses One which relates to sex identification. Sex is varied in these items while race is held constant. The questions posed are, "Which one looks like you?" or "Which one will you look like when you grow up?" The items in this sub-test are listed in Appendix B and Examples of the drawings appear in Figures 1 and 2.

Sub-test 2 consists of seven items designed to test race identification for Hypothesis Two. This time race is varied while sex is held constant. Questions asked about black and white boys and girls, men and women are, "Which one looks like you?" and "Which one could be your mommy/ or daddy?" Items in this sub-test are listed in

TABLE 2

SUB-TESTS, RELATIONSHIP TO ANALYSES, AND DIFFERENTIAL SCORING TECHNIQUE

Sub-test	Related t_0:	Number of items	Score=1	Score=0
1. Sex Identification	Hypothesis One	4	own sex	opposite sex
2. Race identification	Hypothesis Two	7	own race	other race
3. Race labeling	Hypothesis Two	8	correct	incorrect
4. Race preference	Hypotheses Three, Four	20	own race	other race
5. Sex preference	Hypothesis Five	15	own sex	opposite sex
6. Race/sex identification	Subsidiary analysis	2	own sex	opposite sex own race
7. Race/sex preference	"	6	own sex	opposite sex own race
8. Color labeling	"	6	correct	incorrect
9. Red preference	"	3	red	other color
10. Brown preference	"	4	brown	other color
11. Black preference	"	4	black	other color
12. White preference	"	4	white	other color
13. Good-bad switch scale	"	9 pairs	switched response	same response, both items

Figure 1

Sample Item for Sex Identification Sub-test

Verbal Stimulus: "Which one will you look like when you grow up?"

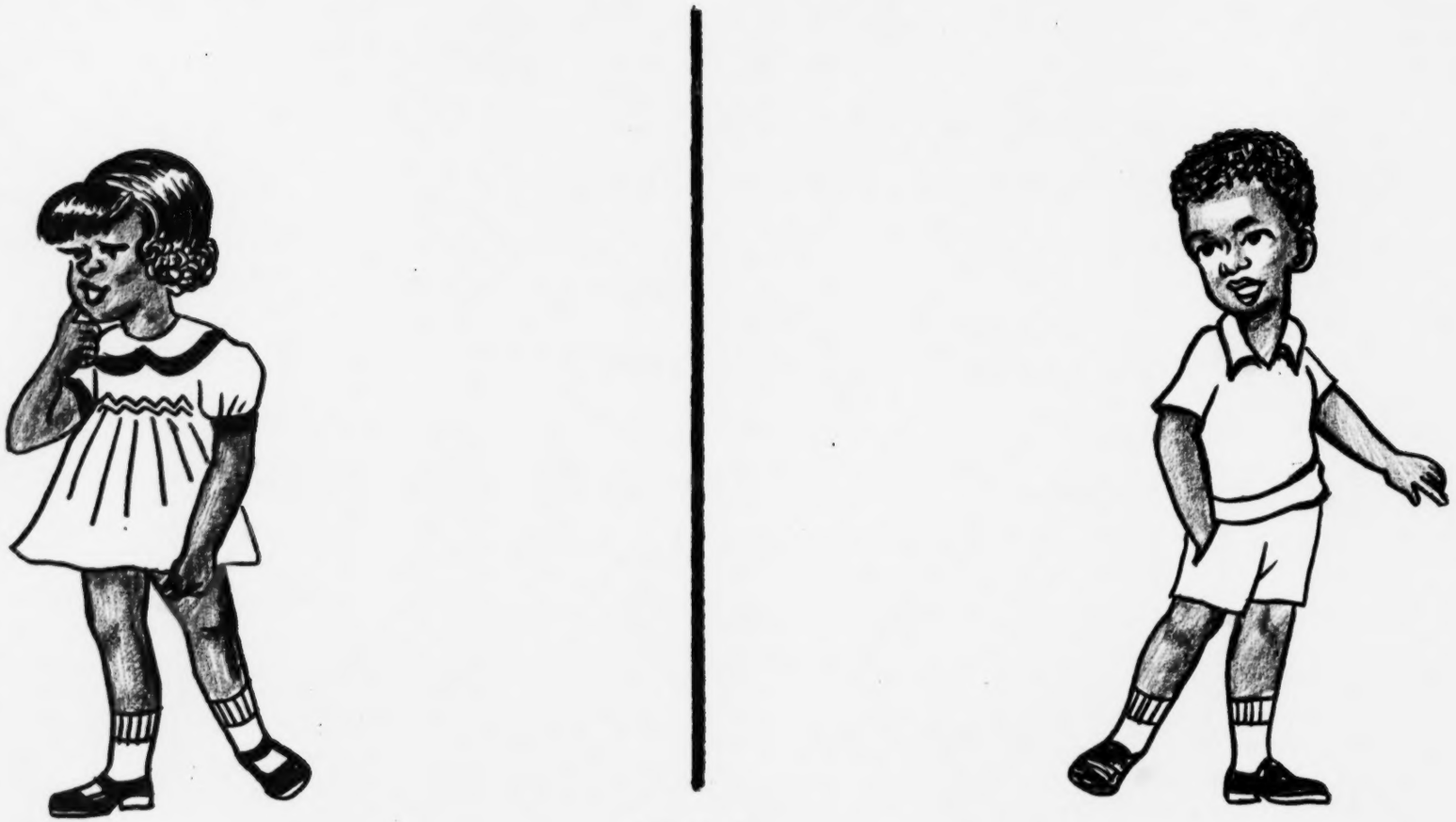

Figure 2

Sample Item for Sex Identification Sub-test

Verbal Stimulus: "Which one looks like you?"

Appendix C and a sample item appears in Figure 2. Further evidence for results of Hypothesis Two is sought in Sub-test 3 which tests the ability of the child to label the common race designations, "white," "black," "Negro," and "colored." A pair of pictures, sex held constant and race varied, is presented with the verbal request to point to the white child, the black child, the Negro child or the colored child. The items in the race labeling sub-test appear in Appendix D and an illustrated example appears in Figure 3.

Hypotheses Three and Four which deal with differences in race preference and the effect of the race of the examiner upon such preference, are treated in Sub-test 4, a series of 20 items varying by race with sex held constant. Subjects are asked to select the picture which is the "best," "prettiest," "pretty one," "good one," or other positively valued term. Other items consist of, "Which one would you like to play with?," "Which one would you like to be?," and "Which one would your mommy like best?" Examples of these items are illustrated in Figures 4 and 5 while a list of items in the sub-test appears in Appendix E.

Sub-test 5 relates to Hypothesis 5 which attempts to get at racial differences in sex preference. There are 15 items of opposite-sex pairs with race always held constant. Verbal stimuli are value terms similar to those described above under Sub-test 4. The list of items appears in Appendix F and a sample item is seen in Figure 6.

The last eight sub-tests relate not to the hypotheses but to other problems of interest which have been designated in the analysis

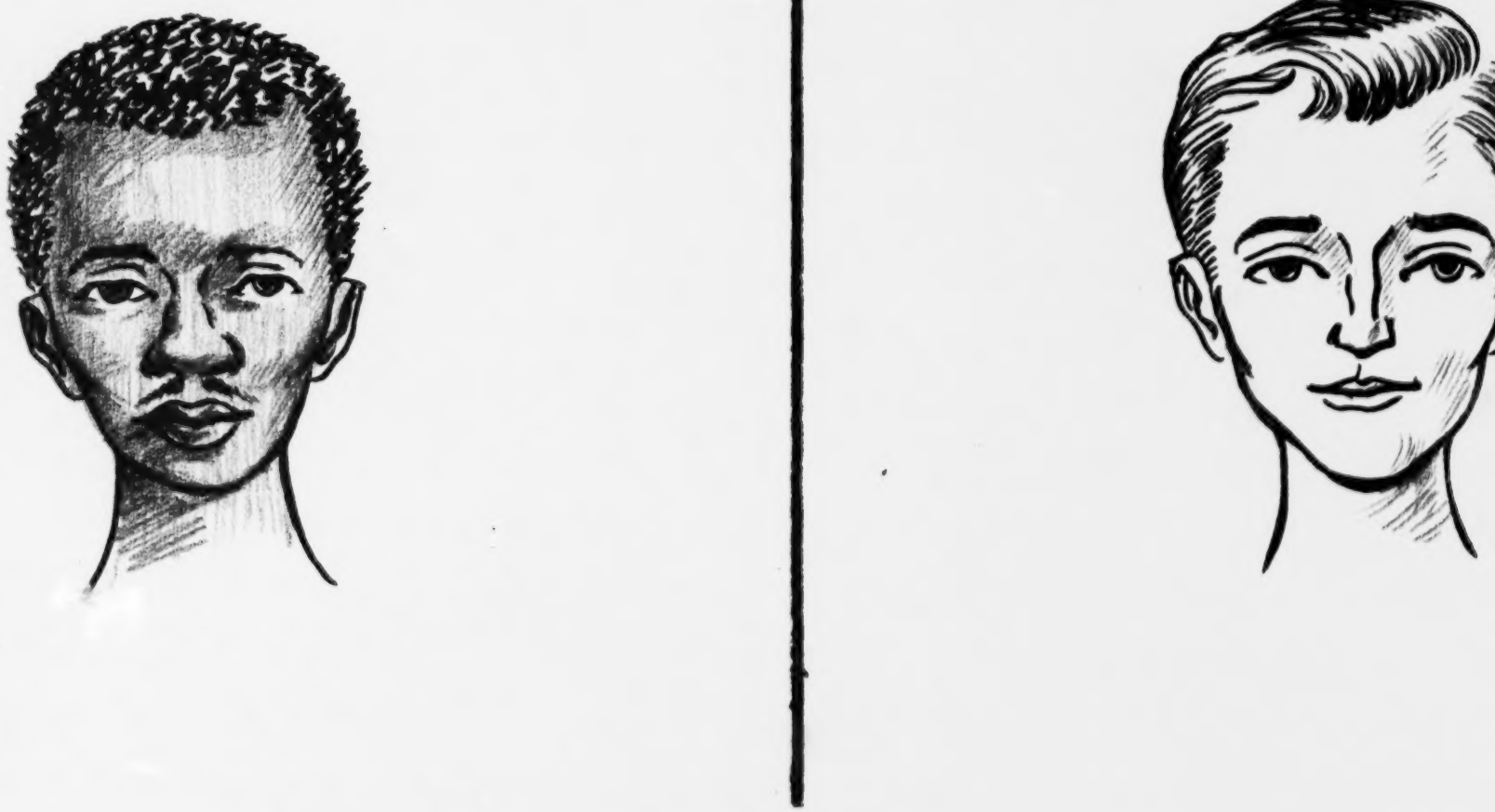

Figure 3

Sample Item for Race Identification Sub-test

Verbal Stimulus: "Which one could be your daddy?"

Figure 4

Sample Item for Race Labeling Sub-test

Verbal Stimulus: "Point to the 'colored' boy."

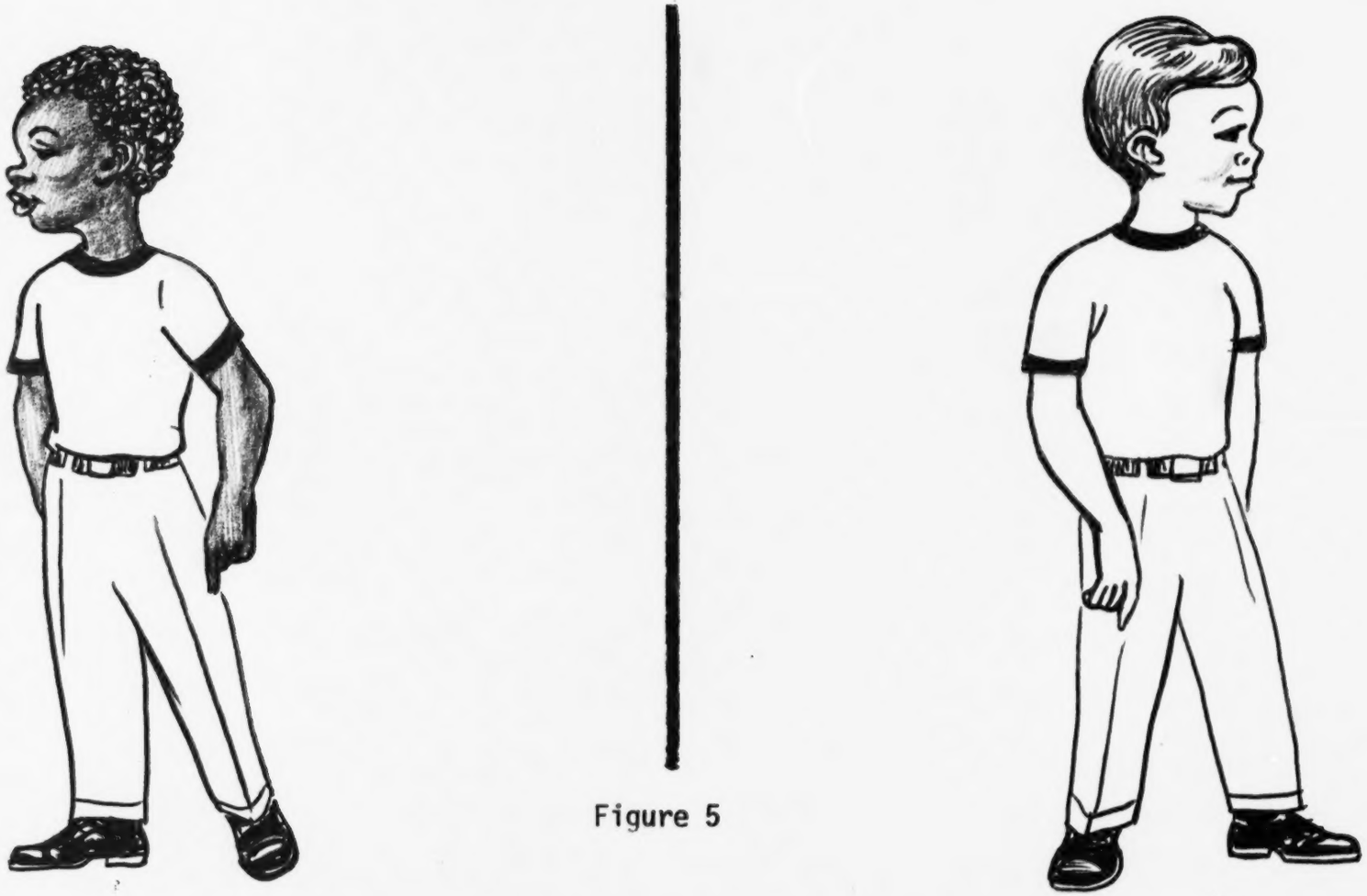

Figure 5

Sample Item for Race Identification and Race Preference Sub-tests

Verbal Stimulus: Girls-"Which one do you like best?"
Boys-"Which one looks like you?"

Figure 6

Sample Item for Race Preference Sub-test

Verbal Stimulus: "Point to the prettiest one."

as subsidiary supplementary sub-tests. Sub-tests 6 and 7 explore the question of the possible dominance of sex choices over race choices in both identification and preference items. These are the only sub-tests in which race and sex are varied together in the drawings. These items are illustrated in Figures 7 and 8 and the items are listed in Appendices G and H.

Color labeling and preference were covered in Sub-tests 8 through 12. These sub-tests were designed to determine whether subjects could identify the colors white, brown, and black and whether children's color preferences bore any relationship to their race preference. Lists of the color labeling and color preference sub-tests appear in Appendices I and J.

The final sub-test for analysis is Sub-test 13 which was designed as an internal check within the instrument to examine consistency of responses. The sub-test is called the "good-bad switch scale" and consists of 9 pairs of identical items. One item of each pair is taken from the race preference, sex preference or color preference sub-tests and asks, "Point to the good one." The other member of the pair is an item with identical pictures which asks the child, "Point to the bad one." These items are listed in Appendix K.

Scoring Technique

Each of the 13 sub-tests within the 96 item instrument was differentially scored by a technique which varied according to the nature of the problem under investigation. The scores assigned each sub-test appear along with the summary description of the sub-tests in Table 2. Generally, the technique consisted of assigning a score

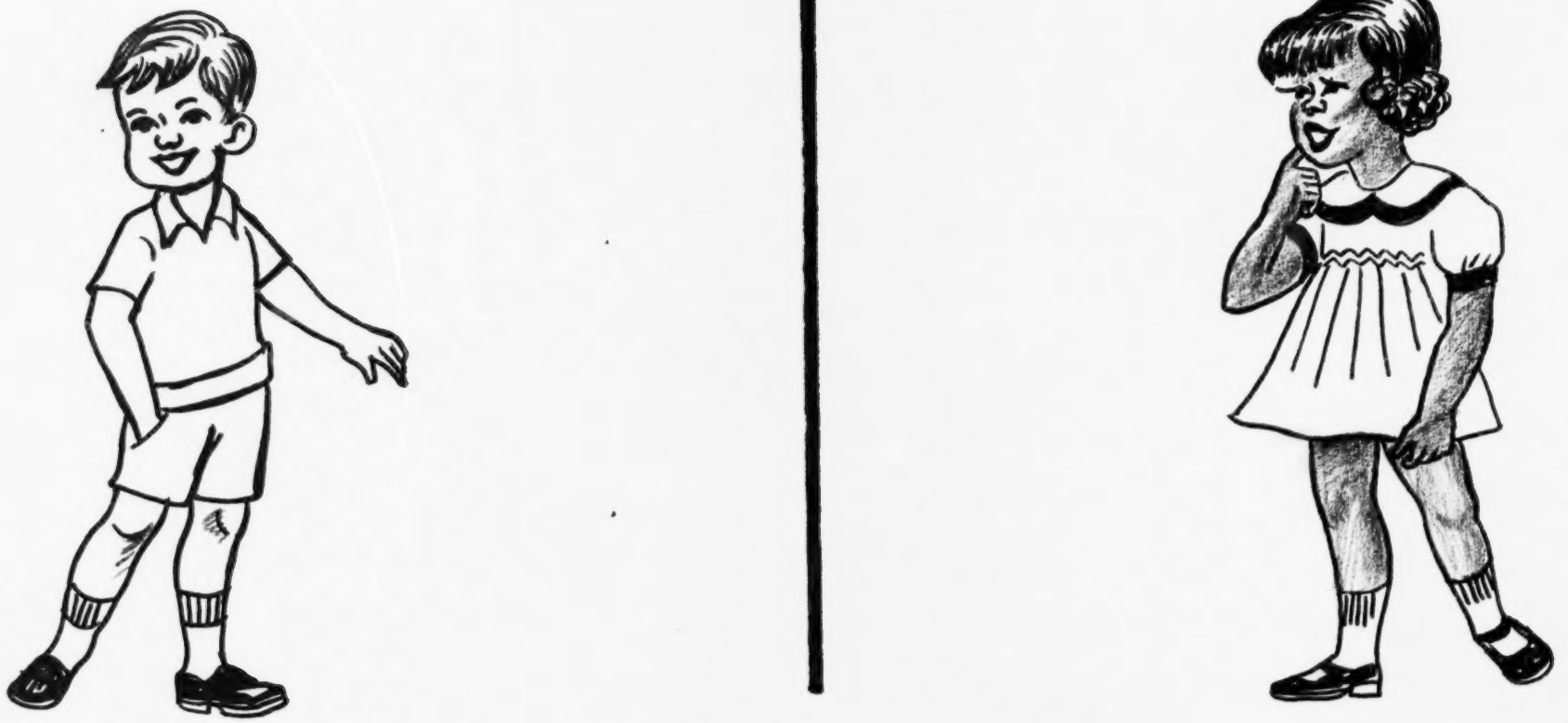

Figure 7

Sample Item for Race/Sex Identification Sub-test

Verbal Stimulus: "Which one looks like you?"

Figure 8

Sample Item for Race/Sex Preference Sub-test

Verbal Stimulus: "Point to the pretty one."

of 1 for an own-sex or own-race response and a score of 0 for the opposite. On the labeling sub-tests, all subjects received a score of 1 for correct and 0 for incorrect. In the race/sex sub-tests, all subjects received a score of 1 for picking by sex and 0 for picking by race. Finally, in the "good-bad switch scale," the subject was scored 1 if he made a switch and 0 if he picked the same picture twice.

Pilot Testing of the Instrument

The items were all pilot tested on four-year-old subjects to determine whether they were understandable to preschool children.

Certain changes and improvements were made as a result of the pilot testing. For example, it was found that when subjects were asked to identify with a pair of drawings depicting two figures of opposite sex to subject and different race from each other, subjects found the problem too confusing to make a choice by race. For instance a girl presented with pictures of a black boy and a white boy and asked, "Which one looks like you?" (Race identification), was confused and said, "I don't no boy." To overcome this confusion, this type of item was given two different verbal stimuli, one for girls and one for boys. Examples of these items are seen in Appendix A.

During the pilot testing it was also determined that the entire test could be administered in one sitting without tiring the subject. It was found that the administration time was between twelve and twenty minutes.

Test Administration

Three examiner teams, each consisting of a white female examiner and a black female examiner, administered the instrument to the 168 subjects. Each of the 13 locations was visited by one of the teams. At each location, from a list of eligible children, each examiner tested every other child thus assuring randomization. Test conditions varied according to the testing facilities available but examiners generally worked within sight of one another on opposite sides of the same room.

Subject and examiner were seated at a table; the examiner to the left of the child. The book of test items was placed directly in front of the child and the examiner turned the pages and read the verbal instructions. No detailed instructions were given to the subjects; instead, they were simply told they were going to play a game. When rapport was established, the examiner began the first item with the instructions, "See the two pictures? Which one do you like best?" The forced-choice response was so simple that no further training was necessary. The examiner paid close attention to whether the child was responding appropriately; as indicated earlier five who were not were eliminated from the sample. Those children who hesitated to make choices were given encouragement to do so.

After the test had been administered, each child was given a piece of green paper and four crayons; red, white, brown, and black. The subject was asked to draw a picture of himself and the examiner noted the order of selection of the crayons and any spontaneous verbalization on the part of the child. The data from this procedure constitutes a separate study and is mentioned here only to show that the procedure gave every child an enjoyable experience after the test.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

Analysis of the data

Each sub-test was analysed separately following a 2 x 2 x 2 analysis of variance design with two levels of sex, two levels of race, and two levels of race of the examiner.* The results of the analyses of each of the sub-tests in relation to the hypotheses and the subsidiary supplemental analyses are presented below.

Results relating to the hypotheses

Hypothesis One is supported by data showing that there was a significant difference between black and white groups in their ability to identify by sex ($F = 5.21$, $p < .05$). Means and standard deviations on the sex identification sub-test are shown in Table 3 and the analysis of variance in Table 4. Means indicate that white subjects identified more strongly with their own sex than did black subjects. Table 4 shows further that there were no significant differences between boys and girls on sex identification and that race of the examiner was not a factor.

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*The major computational procedures were carried out at the Campus Computing Network, University of California, Los Angeles. The analyses of variance were obtained from BMD Programs 08S, 01D and 08V.

TABLE 3

MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF SEX IDENTIFICATION ITEMS

By Race, Sex and Race of Examiner

4 Items

		WHITE EXAMINER		BLACK EXAMINER	
		M	SD	M	SD
WHITE	Boys	3.8	.38	3.9	.22
	Girls	3.7	.44	3.7	.41
BLACK	Boys	3.6	.68	3.6	.65
	Girls	3.7	.57	3.6	.80

TABLE 4

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE ON SEX IDENTIFICATION ITEMS

Source	df	MS	F
Sex (S)	1	.08	.25
Race (R)	1	1.67	5.21*
Race of E (E)	1	.01	.04
S X R	1	.25	.77
S X E	1	.11	.35
R X E	1	.14	.45
S X R X E	1	.01	.02
Error	160	.33	

*p < .05

Hypothesis Two is supported by the data from the race identification sub-test. Means and standard deviations on the race identification items appear in Table 5 and the analysis of variance for the same items in Table 6. The obtained means indicate that all groups identify with the white race on more than half the items and the analysis of variance yields a significant difference by race ($F = 101.12$, $p < .01$). Parenthetically, there was also a significant sex difference ($F = 4.95$, $p < .05$) and an examination of the means in Table 5 indicates that the white girls group was responsible for the difference, this group being the most strongly identified with their own racial group.

The results from the race labeling sub-series of items are treated under this hypothesis since it could be argued that black children might have misidentified themselves by race simply by not knowing or understanding the commonly used race labels, "white," "black," "colored" and "Negro." Table 7 gives means and standard deviations for all groups on race labeling items and the analysis of variance for this sub-test appears in Table 8. The data show that there were no significant differences between groups in correctly labeling by race. There was, however, a significant difference ($F = 13.93$, $p < .01$) on the race of examiner dimension; all groups labeled race more successfully with black examiners.

The individual race label terms were not, unfortunately, treated separately in the analysis. Means of correct choices on each term were calculated and the results are seen in Table 9. These means show that the designations "black" and "white" were answered with good

TABLE 5

MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF RACE IDENTIFICATION ITEMS

By Race, Sex and Race of Examiner

7 Items

		WHITE EXAMINER		BLACK EXAMINER	
		M	SD	M	SD
WHITE	Boys	4.8	1.8	4.3	2.0
	Girls	5.1	1.8	5.7	1.0
BLACK	Boys	2.0	1.7	2.2	2.0
	Girls	2.0	1.8	2.8	1.7

TABLE 6

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE ON RACE IDENTIFICATION ITEMS

Source	df	MS	F
Sex (S)	1	15.56	4.95*
Race (R)	1	317.96	101.12**
Race of E. (E)	1	3.05	0.97
S X R	1	2.89	0.92
S X E	1	7.65	2.43
R X E	1	1.55	0.49
S X R X E	1	0.70	0.22
Error	160	3.14	

*p < .05
**p < .01

TABLE 7

MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF RACE LABELING ITEMS

By Race, Sex and Race of Examiner

8 Items

		WHITE EXAMINER		BLACK EXAMINER	
		M	SD	M	SD
WHITE	Boys	5.5	1.65	5.9	1.44
	Girls	5.1	1.37	6.5	1.77
BLACK	Boys	5.0	1.88	6.4	1.50
	Girls	5.8	1.64	6.3	1.29

TABLE 8

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE ON RACE LABELING ITEMS

Source	df	MS	F
Sex (S)	1	1.66	0.68
Race (R)	1	0.89	0.36
Race of E (E)	1	34.18	13.93*
S X R	1	0.53	0.22
S X E	1	0.02	0.01
R X E	1	0.02	0.01
S X R X E	160	8.78	3.58
Error		2.45	

*p < .01

TABLE 9

MEANS OF CORRECT CHOICES ON INDIVIDUAL RACE LABELING ITEMS

By Race, Sex and Race of Examiner

	Label 'colored' 2 items	Label Negro 2 items	Label Black 2 items	Label White 2 items	Total Race Label 8 items
	M	M	M	M	M
White boys-white E	1.1	1.1	1.5	1.7	5.5
White boys-black E	1.3	1.0	1.7	1.8	5.9
Black boys-white E	1.0	0.9	1.6	1.6	5.0
Black boys-black E	1.6	1.3	1.9	1.8	6.4
White girls-white E	1.0	1.3	1.8	1.8	5.1
White girls-black E	1.5	1.4	1.7	1.9	6.5
Black girls-white E	0.9	1.2	1.9	1.7	5.8
Black girls-black E	1.3	1.3	2.0	1.8	6.3

success by all groups and that the terms "colored" and "Negro" were labeled with less success. There is no analysis of variance on the individual race labeling terms but a look at the means indicates that black subjects did slightly better on labeling black race and white subjects did better on white race. Girls appeared to do better than boys on labeling all terms but "colored"; on that term the boys were higher as a group.

Hypothesis Three, which states that white children will show a higher preference for their own race than black children will for their own race is strongly supported by the data. Table 10 gives means and standard deviations of the sub-test on preference for own race. In Table 11, the analysis of variance, gives support to Hypothesis Three that there is a race preference difference ($F = 144.86$, $p < .01$). The means show, further, that the white race is strongly preferred by all groups. An inspection of the results of each of the items in the race preference sub-test indicated that the type of evaluative adjective used in the question did not appear to affect the preference for white race.

In addition to the race difference finding which supports the hypothesis, there were also significant sex differences ($F = 7.22$, $p < .01$) in the analysis. Girls as a group prefer their own race more than boys as a group. However, it should be noted that, as in the race identification sub-test, the means indicate that white girls seem to be accounting for the sex difference; their scores were very strongly in favor of the white race. Black boys and girls appear to have about the same degree of preference for whites. A significant

TABLE 10

MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF

TEST OF PREFERENCE FOR OWN RACE

By Race, Sex and Race of Examiner

20 Items

		WHITE EXAMINER		BLACK EXAMINER	
		M	SD	M	SD
WHITE	Boys	13.2	4.66	11.6	4.60
	Girls	14.6	4.39	16.8	2.29
BLACK	Boys	6.7	3.21	6.7	4.11
	Girls	6.1	3.89	7.2	3.87

TABLE 11

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE ON TEST OF PREFERENCE FOR OWN RACE

Source	df	MS	F
Sex (S)	1	112.68	7.22*
Race (R)	1	259.31	144.86*
Race of E (E)	1	7.65	0.48
S X R	1	121.24	7.77*
S X E	1	60.45	3.87
R X E	1	0.68	0.04
S X R X E	1	18.60	1.19
Error	160	15.60	

*$p < .01$

Sex X Race interaction ($F = 7.77$, $p < .01$) adds support to the finding that one race group, white girls, is contributing to the sex difference.

Hypothesis Four is not supported by the data which shows that there were no significant increases in own-race preference among black subjects when black examiners administered the instrument (See Table 11). As reported earlier in this section, the only sub-test in which race of the examiner showed a significant difference was in the race labeling sub-test where subjects in all groups showed significantly higher scores on race labeling when black examiners were involved.

Hypothesis Five is not supported by data; although all boys' groups preferred their own sex with considerably less strength than any of the girls' groups, there was no race factor involved. The analysis of variance in Table 13 shows a significant difference between sexes on the dimension of sex preference ($F = 20.45$, $p < .01$) but the means in Table 12 indicate that black boys do not differ in their preference for girls more strongly than do white boys. There were no other significant differences in the analysis.

Subsidiary supplementary analyses

The results of the analyses up to this point have dealt with the hypotheses. The results which follow are not directly related to the hypotheses but appear to be worthy of consideration.

a. Race/sex identification and preference. This section of the test was designed to examine the possible dominance of the sex factor over the race factor when the subject was forced to choose one factor

TABLE 12

MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF

TEST OF SEX PREFERENCE ITEMS

By Race, Sex and Race of Examiner

15 Items

		WHITE EXAMINER		BLACK EXAMINER	
		M	SD	M	SD
WHITE	Boys	9.6	2.2	10.2	3.2
	Girls	12.2	2.4	12.5	2.0
BLACK	Boys	10.9	3.2	9.2	2.8
	Girls	11.4	2.4	11.1	2.5

TABLE 13

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE ON SEX PREFERENCE ITEMS

Source	df	MS	F
Sex (S)	1	140.50	20.45*
Race (R)	1	9.80	1.43
Race of E (E)	1	3.69	0.54
S X R	1	15.62	2.27
S X E	1	3.10	0.45
R X E	1	23.65	3.44
S X R X E	1	6.76	0.99
Error	160	6.87	

*p< .01

over another. These were the only items in the test where race and sex were varied together. All pictures consisted of males and females of opposite race. If the male figure was black, the female was white. The data for both the race/sex identification and race/sex preference items were analysed in such a way that there was no choice for the subject which conformed to both his own race and his own sex. Differential scoring procedure for the items analysed was a score of 1 for a choice by sex (opposite race) and 0 for own-race choice (opposite sex). Means and standard deviations for the race/sex identification items appear in Table 14 and the analysis of variance in Table 15. Means show that all groups identified by sex more strongly than by race although no significant differences were found between groups by sex, race or race of examiner. There was a significant Race X Examiner interaction ($F = 4.83$, $p < .05$) and examination of the means in Table 14 indicates that white boys identified by sex more strongly with black examiners and black boys more strongly by sex with white examiners. The difference may be accounted for by the fact that a choice for sex was also a choice for opposite race and it is possible that the opposite race of examiner influenced the increase in choices in that direction.

Table 16 presents means and standard deviations of race/sex preference items and Table 17 a summary of the analysis of variance for this sub-test. The data show that there were significant differences by sex ($F = 4.96$, $p < .05$) and by race ($F = 41.31$, $p < .01$). The means show that girls showed a stronger preference for sex over race than did boys and that black subjects were selecting on the basis of sex

TABLE 14

MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF

RACE/SEX IDENTIFICATION ITEMS

By Race, Sex and Race of Examiner

2 Items

		WHITE EXAMINER		BLACK EXAMINER	
		M	SD	M	SD
WHITE	Boys	1.4	0.70	1.7	0.44
	Girls	1.8	0.52	1.8	0.37
BLACK	Boys	1.8	0.37	1.6	0.65
	Girls	1.8	0.49	1.7	0.54

TABLE 15

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE ON RACE/SEX IDENTIFICATION ITEMS

Source	df	MS	F
Sex (S)	1	0.71	2.59
Race (R)	1	0.09	0.35
Race of E (E)	1	0.00	0.01
S X R	1	0.35	1.27
S X E	1	0.08	0.32
R X E	1	1.33	4.83*
S X R X E	1	0.30	1.09
Error	160	0.28	

*$p < .05$

TABLE 16

MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF

RACE/SEX PREFERENCE ITEMS

By Race, Sex and Race of Examiner

6 Items

		WHITE EXAMINER		BLACK EXAMINER	
		M	SD	M	SD
WHITE	Boys	2.7	1.33	3.3	1.63
	Girls	3.7	1.62	3.3	1.73
BLACK	Boys	4.5	1.10	4.2	1.28
	Girls	5.0	1.05	4.7	1.18

TABLE 17

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE ON RACE/SEX PREFERENCE ITEMS

Source	df	MS	F
Sex (S)	1	9.38	4.96*
Race (R)	1	78.05	41.31**
Race of E (E)	1	0.59	0.31
S X R	1	0.00	0.00
S X E	1	3.49	1.85
R X E	1	2.44	1.29
S X R X E	1	3.01	1.59
Error	160	1.89	

*$p < .05$
**$p < .01$

much more strongly than were white groups. With regard to this finding, it must again be kept in mind that a choice for own-sex in this sub-test is also a choice for opposite race so that the findings here are another way of pointing up the strong white preference shown by black groups on the pure race preference items. The analysis indicates that when subjects were faced by two pictures, neither matching in both sex and race, blacks consistently selected the picture with their own sex and which also had the preferred race. White subjects, however, did not favor their own sex as strongly when the alternate picture was opposite sex and own race. They selected sex over race only a little more than half the time.

b. Color labeling and color preference. The sub-series of items measuring color labeling and color preference are treated as part of the subsidiary analyses. Means and standard deviations of color labeling items appear in Table 18. Analysis of variance is not included since there were no significant differences on any dimension. The means show that the color label "white" was more difficult for all groups and that the colors black and brown were easier and very close in mean scores.

A comparison of color labeling means (Table 18) and race labeling means (Table 7) indicates that the means for "color black" and "race black" and "color white" and "race white" were quite close. Black race labeling was noted to be higher in black girls groups than their black color labeling mean scores.

Color preference means and standard deviations (Table 19) show that the order of preference for the four colors in the sub-test was

TABLE 18

MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF COLOR LABELING ITEMS

By Race, Sex and Race of Examiner

	LABEL WHITE 2 items		LABEL BROWN 2 items		LABEL BLACK 2 items		TOTAL COLOR LABEL 6 items	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
White boys-white E	1.7	.68	1.8	.38	1.8	.55	5.3	1.23
White boys-black E	1.5	.68	1.8	.52	1.9	.22	5.2	1.02
Black boys-white E	1.3	.95	1.6	.49	1.8	.37	4.7	1.38
Black Boys-black E	1.7	.67	1.9	.34	1.8	.38	5.4	0.98
White girls-white E	1.8	.37	1.9	.31	1.9	.22	5.7	0.66
White girls-black E	1.8	.50	1.9	.46	1.8	.37	5.6	0.96
Black girls-white E	1.6	.75	1.9	.31	1.8	.37	5.3	1.04
Black girls-black E	1.7	.62	1.9	.32	1.6	.66	5.2	1.28

TABLE 19

MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF COLOR PREFERENCE ITEMS

By Race, Sex and Race of Examiner

	Prefer Red 3 items		Prefer Brown 4 items		Prefer Black 4 items		Prefer White 4 items	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
White boys-white E	2.3	0.76	2.8	0.76	2.5	1.04	0.5	0.85
White boys-black E	2.3	0.57	2.9	0.76	2.1	0.91	0.8	1.09
Black boys-white E	2.5	1.00	2.8	0.83	3.0	0.85	0.2	0.41
Black boys-black E	2.5	0.88	2.9	0.77	2.5	0.98	0.4	0.93
White girls-white E	2.2	0.72	2.7	1.07	1.9	1.12	1.3	1.46
White girls-black E	2.9	0.31	2.6	1.21	2.3	1.25	0.9	1.13
Black girls-white E	2.3	0.80	2.9	1.12	2.3	1.30	0.6	1.04
Black girls-black E	2.6	0.57	2.7	1.10	2.2	1.00	1.1	1.03

red, black, brown and white. "White" received a low score in all groups. The apparent lack of a relationship between color label preference and race preference is of interest and is mentioned later in the discussion.

Analysis of variance for color preference items (Table 20) yields the findings that significant differences on red preference items are found on the race of examiner dimension ($F = 3.95$, $p < .05$). The significant Sex X Examiner interaction ($F = 3.95$, $p < .05$) is explained by the means which show that all girls with black examiners prefer red more than girls with white examiners.

There were no significant differences on the brown preference sub-test. The significant sex difference ($F = 4.48$, $p < .05$) on the black preference sub-scale is shown in the means to indicate that boys prefer the color black more than girls.

On the white preference sub-test there was a significant sex difference, ($F = 9.32$, $p < .01$), and a significant race difference, ($F = 4.24$, $p < .05$). The means reveal that black and white girls prefer the color white and that white boys and girls also prefer the color white. White girls show the highest preference for the color white and although the preference was still low for all groups, there is still a relationship between white girls highest preference for the white race and highest preference for the color white (See Tables 10 and 11).

c. <u>The good-bad switch scale</u>. To review, these items were nine identical pairs of pictures randomized throughout the test with only the verbal instructions changed to act as an internal check for

TABLE 20

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE ON COLOR PREFERENCE ITEMS

		Prefer Red 3 items		Prefer Brown 4 items		Prefer Black 4 items		Prefer White 4 items	
Source	df	MS	F	MS	F	MS	F	MS	F
Sex (S)	1	0.42	0.79	0.84	0.89	5.06	4.48*	9.91	9.32**
Race (R)	1	0.03	0.06	0.03	0.03	3.53	3.13	4.51	4.24*
Race of E (E)	1	2.11	3.95*	0.05	0.05	0.93	0.82	0.85	0.80
S X R	1	0.99	1.85	0.31	0.32	1.03	0.91	0.08	0.07
S X E	1	2.43	4.56*	0.63	0.66	3.73	3.30	0.73	0.69
R X E	1	0.26	0.49	0.00	0.00	1.03	0.91	1.62	1.52
S X R X E	1	0.38	0.72	0.05	0.05	0.48	0.42	1.93	1.81
Error	160	0.53		0.94		1.13		1.06	

*p < .05
**p < .01

response consistency. In one case the verbal stimulus was "point to the good one" and in the other case it was "point to the bad one." For purposes of analysis these items were scored in such a way that if the subject pointed to the same picture each time he received a 0 score. If he made the required switch from good to bad or from bad to good, he received a score of 1. The items were grouped in three categories: race preference, sex preference and color preference. Means and standard deviations for the "good-bad switch scale" items appear in Table 21 and the analysis of variance for these items in Table 22. Examination of the means of the switch scores indicated that about one-half of all the subjects were not making the required switch and therefore may have been picking on some other basis than the verbal instructions. The analysis of variance shows a significant race-of-examiner difference on the race preference items ($F = 4.75$, $p < .05$) and a look at the means shows that there were fewer switches made across the board with black examiners. The only other significant difference appears in the sex preference sub-series where a significant sex difference is found ($F = 9.88$, $p < .01$). The means by sex show that girls are making switches mroe successfully than boys.

The significance of the switch scale as an internal check will be discussed in the next chapter but as a caution it must be noted that although we can say that generally speaking only half the subjects are making switches, there are other interpretations to be made which indicate that the implications of these findings are anything but clear.

TABLE 21

MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF 'GOOD-BAD SWITCH SCALES'

By Race, Sex and Race of Examiner

	Race Preference 4 item pairs		Sex Preference 2 item pairs		Color Preference 3 item pairs	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
White boys-white E	2.3	0.96	1.0	0.77	1.2	0.86
White boys-black E	1.8	1.04	1.1	0.55	1.3	0.98
Black boys-white E	2.2	0.91	1.2	0.69	0.9	0.69
Black boys-black E	1.9	0.88	1.0	0.78	1.1	1.00
White girls-white E	2.0	1.10	0.8	0.77	1.4	0.76
White girls-black E	1.7	0.93	0.7	0.58	1.2	0.96
Black girls-white E	2.0	1.10	0.5	0.69	1.1	0.99
Black girls-black E	1.7	1.16	0.9	0.61	1.3	0.91

TABLE 22

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE ON 'GOOD-BAD SWITCH SCALES'

		Race Preference 4 item pairs		Sex Preference 2 item pairs		Color Preference 3 item pairs	
Source	df	MS	F	MS	F	MS	F
Sex (S)	1	1.33	1.28	4.63	9.88**	0.57	0.70
Race (R)	1	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.05	0.67	0.83
Race of E (E)	1	4.95	4.75*	0.06	0.14	0.10	0.13
S X R	1	0.01	0.00	0.02	0.06	0.09	0.11
S X E	1	0.05	0.05	0.33	0.71	0.63	0.78
R X E	1	0.02	0.02	0.09	0.20	0.70	0.86
S X R X E	1	0.02	0.02	1.63	3.45	0.32	0.40
Error	160	1.04		0.47		0.82	

*p < .05
**p < .01

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

The results of this study have presented considerable data relating to the hypotheses and, secondarily, to other subsidiary areas of concern including general problems of developing measuring instruments for the preschool child. The summary and discussion will center around four major areas: sex identification and preference, race identification and preference, problems of measurement and, finally, the implications of this study for further research.

Sex identification and preference

The findings show that in both sex identification and sex preference tasks, all groups identify with and prefer their own sex. However, the strength of own-sex identification was found to be stronger for white groups than for black groups. The sex differences reported in the literature with black boys showing poorer identification with and preference for their own sex than white boys was not found to be true for this sample and with this instrument. There was, rather, lower sex preference for all boys, regardless of race. It would be difficult to pin-point an explanation of the race differences in sex identification. One explanation is that the task may by a cognitive one which involves some items with a fairly advanced conceptualization of projection of self in the future as in

the items which ask, "Which one will you look like when you grow up?" If these items were analysed separately from the simple, "Which one looks like you?" items, the race differences might wash out.

There is no data available for this sample on father presence or absence although it can be assumed from the SES level of the sample and from the stringent low income admission criteria of the Head Start and Day Care programs that the children in the sample probably had a higher incidence of father absence than the general population. It may also be that in this age group boys show a weaker own-sex preference because of the large amount of time spent with their mothers and the still great dependency of the four-year-old on his mother. The teachers in the Head Start and Day Care Centers tend also to be female and it must be remembered that the examiners for this study were all female. Further investigation with male examiners might yield different results.

Another factor which might have affected the sex variable is that in the sex preference sub-test there were certain items showing men and women where the subject was asked to point to the "pretty" one. It may be that subjects of this age are already aware that this evaluative adjective does not apply well to men. Terms like "good-looking" and "handsome" had been tried out in the pilot work and found not to be understood well enough by the subjects for inclusion into the verbal stimuli of the test. Another criticism of the sex preference sub-test is in certain items showing a boy and a girl and which ask subject, "Which one would your mommy like best?" There may be a confounding factor operating here which implicitly could link

preference for girls on the part of a mother. Counter-items such as, "Which one would your daddy like best?" should have been included for purposes of comparison.

There seems to be evidence from the results of this study, particularly from the results of the race/sex sub-test, that four-year-old children, when confronted with a choice between identification or preference on the sex or the race dimension will generally choose by sex. It is also speculated that there is much overlap between sex identification and sex preference factors. We cannot know without further investigation whether four-year-old subjects, when asked to identify by sex are actually following or attending to the instructions or whether in fact they automatically choose by preference for a particular visual stimulus without regard for the verbal stimulus. We must also take into consideration when dealing with the dominance of sex choice over race choice the possible influence of the strength of race preference when both factors are varied together.

Race identification and preference

The sub-series of items relating to race included not only the race identification and race preference items but also items designed to measure the ability of subjects to label or recognize correctly the commonly designated race names. The relationship between the ability of subjects to label color and their preference for these colors was also considered in an effort to examine the relationship between race factors and color factors.

The very strong identification with and preference for the white

race by all groups, black and white, shows that in spite of the efforts to change the undesirable image of black skin or black race, the white race and what it represents is still dominant and preferred by both black and white children even as young as four years of age. There is, certainly, evidence to indicate that the variables of identification and preference are somehow confounded. The high identification on the part of black children with the white race may mean either that (1) the subjects were picking on the basis of preference for the white pictures no matter what the verbal instructions were or (2) that the results represent a denial on the part of black children of their overt racial characteristics.

The possibility that black children do not know the difference between the racial designations commonly used is shown not to be the case according to the results of the race labeling sub-test. The fairly high race labeling scores do not, however, confirm absolutely that subjects are able to transfer this knowledge of race labels directly to their own race identity. The obtained means suggest that black children did better on labeling "black" and that white children did better on labeling "white." There is no obvious explanation of the significantly higher preference on the part of white girls for the white race but the tendency appears consistently enough in several sub-tests to warrant further investigation. The explanation could be cognitive or the findings could indicate a real difference in preference.

Within the race identification sub-test, scores of individual items were examined to determine whether there were any types of

items where black children were identifying with their own race. There appeared to be no difference in scores between direct, "Which one looks like you?" items and indirect, "Which one looks like your mommy/daddy?" items. Black children identified more strongly with white no matter what the item depicted or what the instructions were. This is another case in point for the possibility that these subjects are picking on some other basis than attention to or understanding of the verbal stimulus.

Ways of explaining the heavy white preference on the part of black children must be sought. In spite of the movement to change the image, there must still be a feeling of derogation towards black skin that children are picking up from their elders and which is firmly established even by four years of age. We might consider the effects of the media to which children are being exposed. Television would likely be the media to which preschoolers are most exposed and certainly, although the pattern is improving somewhat, the dominance of the white culture is still very much apparent. Books for this age group are beginning to appear with illustrations of black children but these also are rare.

Although race of the examiner has been found to be a variable of importance in studies with older subjects, we can conclude that for this study, at least, its effect upon the responses of four-year-olds is negligible. This may be a variable which becomes more meaningful as a child gets older or may be of more importance in responses which require an awareness of the "socially acceptable" response. Although a significant race of examiner difference was

found in the race labeling sub-test, the higher number of correct responses with black examiners was across all groups and no explanation is put forward.

Comparison of the results in the color labeling and color preference sub-tests shows that for this instrument there is not the close relationship reported by Williams (1964, 1966) in his studies of color connotation and its relationship to race. Although in race identification and preference sub-tests white race choices dominated in all groups, the color white was identified with the least success and was preferred least by all groups. The explanation of these findings is not clear but it is apparent that the color white and the concept of white race seem to have different connotations for this sample.

A problem which could have created confusion in the results is the fact that, although in the color items white construction paper was actually pasted into the test booklets, the space might simply have looked to the subjects like a blank space and possibly white was by-passed for this reason causing a distortion of the data. The one meaningful finding in the color preference series was the significant difference by race on the preference for the color white. This difference was apparently accounted for, again, by the white girls groups.

On the whole, findings from the color labeling and color preference items did not yield enough meaningful data or relationships to race preference to warrant their inclusion in a revised version of the instrument.

In seeking ways of dealing with the problem of the dominance of preference for the white race and its implication of negative affect for the black race, certain points of view are available. There is already a strong movement on the part of certain groups within the black sub-culture to stress awareness of black skin and to relate positive values to it. This writer has observed, within the Head Start framework, teachers informally introducing discussions of this nature into the curriculum. It is possible that programs and curricula could be developed to speed up the process of awareness and to improve the image projected onto black skin.

Another, perhaps more idealistic, point of view would be to attempt to make young children more aware of differences in racial characteristics without emphasis upon any particular value judgement. This is the kind of program which would benefit black and white children alike and could help young children to take a more individualistic, humanistic approach toward others while deemphasizing the use of overt racial qualities as a basis for judging character.

Measurement problems with respect to listening to and understanding verbal instructions

We have already brought up several times the possibility that preschool children may be responding to test items on some criteria that we are not yet even aware of. All indications were that in this instrument, the verbal instructions did not seem to make the difference whereas the visula stimuli, the drawings, seemed to have qualities in themselves which brought about a response from the subject, possibly on the basis of preference for a particular picture. The built-in "good-bad scale" in this instrument becomes a useful

internal check or "lie-scale" to determine whether subjects are attending to or understanding the instructions in the test. One of the theories about the test response behavior is that the results are very much dependent upon the level of cognitive development of the subjects. In the case of the "good-bad switch scale," a higher switch score might indicate a higher level of cognition or understanding. Since so much of the research claims that white children always have the advantage in terms of cognitive development, then we would have expected higher switch scores on the part of white subjects. These results did not occur and we must, therefore, assume that some other basis of choice was operating. The tendency is to assume that subjects are ignoring the verbal instructions altogether and are picking on the basis of preference or some other criterion, as yet undetermined. This is not to say that the subjects necessarily do not understand the distinction between the concepts "good" and "bad" but simply that they tend to block out the auditory stimulus in favor of the appeal of the visual stimuli, the drawings. Most certainly these findings open to question all instruments for preschoolers which rely heavily upon attending to and understanding complicated verbal instructions. A re-evaluation of modes of response in children of this age is certainly called for. One way of investigating this problem further would be to try to question children about the criteria they select for responding to tests.

Proposed further research

Within the discussion, several suggestions for further research have already been proposed including a suggestion for developing

curricula to enhance the self-concept of preschool children in terms of their race and sex awareness and preference. The instrument used in this study could well be used as a pre-post measure in such an endeavor.

The instrument itself needs to be reduced in size and a factor analysis will be run to provide data for this purpose. Standardization will be required using a larger cross-section of the population by increasing the age range and SES levels.

Validation of the instrument might be accomplished by comparing scores on race and sex dimensions with actual interactions and selections of playmates on the part of children in preschool environments. This writer does not believe that new instruments should be validated against older, but unsatisfactory instruments.

The differences in race and sex identification and preference between young children in totally segregated and racially mixed environments needs further research.

Finally, the instrument could be useful as a pre-post measure of changes in self-concept in young children as a result of the Head Start experience. If such a study were conducted, changes attributable to maturation or development would have to be taken into consideration.

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APPENDIX A

ITEMS IN THE INSTRUMENT

ITEM NUMBER	VISUAL STIMULI		VERBAL STIMULUS	SUB-TEST
	Left Frame	Right Frame		
1.	Color white	Color Red	Which one do you like best?	Color Preference
2.	Black Man	Black Woman	Which one will you look like when you grow up?	Sex identification
3.	Color white	Color brown	Which one is the prettiest?	Color preference
4.	Black girl	Black boy	Which one looks like you?	Sex identification
5.	Black woman	Black man	Point to the pretty one.	Sex preference
6.	White boy	Black boy	Point to the colored boy.	Race labeling
7.	Black boy	White boy	Which one would you like to play with?	Race preference
8.	Color black	Color white	Point to the good color.	Color preference
9.	Black man	White woman	Which one will you look like when you grow up?	Race/sex ident.
10.	Color brown	Color Black	Point to the bad color.	Color preference Good-bad scale
11.	Black boy	Black girl	Point to the prettier one.	Sex Preference
12.	White man	White woman	Point to the good one.	Sex preference Good-bad scale

ITEM NUMBER	VISUAL STIMULI		VERBAL STIMULUS	SUB-TEST
	Left Frame	Right Frame		
13.	White girl	White boy	Point to the bad one.	Not analysed
14.	Black girl	White girl	Which one would you like to play with?	Race preference
15.	White girl	Black girl	Which one would you like to be?	Race preference
16.	Black man	White man	Which one could be your daddy?	Race identification
17.	Black girl	White girl	Girls: Which one looks like you? Boys: Which one do you like best?	Race identification Race preference
18.	White girl	Black girl	Which one would your mommy like best?	Race preference
19.	Black girl	White boy	Which one would your mommy like best?	Race/sex preference
20.	White man	White woman	Point to the pretty one.	Sex preference
21.	White boy	Black girl	Which one would you like to play with?	Race/sex preference
22.	Black man	White man	Point to the pretty one.	Race preference
23.	White girl	Black boy	Which one looks like you?	Sex/race ident.
24.	White boy	White girl	Point to the pretty one.	Sex preference
25.	Black woman	Black man	Point to the good one.	Sex preference Good-bad scale
26.	Black boy	White boy	Which one would you like to be?	Race preference

ITEM NUMBER	VISUAL STIMULI Left Frame	Right Frame	VERBAL STIMULUS	SUB-TEST
29.	Black male doll	White male doll	Which doll do you like best?	Race preference
30.	White boy	Black boy	Point to the bad boy.	Good-bad scale
31.	Black boy	White boy	Boys: Which one looks like you? Girls: Which one do you like best?	Race identification Race preference
32.	White man	Black man	Which one could be your daddy?	Race identification
33.	Black boy	White boy	Which one would your mommy like best?	Race preference
34.	White boy	Black boy	Point to the good boy.	Race preference Good-bad scale
35.	Black female doll	Black male doll	Which doll do you like best?	Sex preference
36.	Color white	Color brown	Point to the good color.	Color preference Good-bad scale
37.	Color black	Color white	Point to the best color.	Color preference
38.	Black boy	Black girl	Which one would you like to play with?	Sex preference
39.	White man	Black man	Point to the good man.	Race preference Good-bad scale
40.	Black woman	Black man	Point to the bad one.	Good-bad scale

ITEM NUMBER	VISUAL STIMULI Left Frame	Right Frame	VERBAL STIMULUS	SUB-TEST
41.	Black boy	White girl	Point to the pretty one.	Race/sex preference
42.	Black girl	Black boy	Which one would you like to be?	Sex preference
43.	White boy	White girl	Which one would you like to be?	Sex preference
44.	Black girl	White boy	Point to the pretty one.	Race/sex preference
45.	Black boy	White boy	Point to the Negro boy.	Race labeling
46.	Color brown	Color Red	Point to the good color.	Color preference
47.	Black woman	White man	Which one will you look like when you grow up?	Race/sex identification
48.	White woman	Black man	Point to the pretty one.	Race/sex preference
49.	Black boy	Black girl	Point to the bad one.	Not analysed
50.	White boy	White girl	Which one looks like you?	Sex identification
51.	White boy	Black girl	Which one would you like to be?	Race/sex preference
52.	Black woman	White woman	Point to the good one.	Race preference
53.	White woman	Black woman	Point to the pretty one.	Race preference
54.	Black girl	White girl	Point to the black girl.	Race labeling
55.	Black woman	White woman	Which one could be your mommy?	Race labeling

ITEM NUMBER	VISUAL STIMULI Left Frame	Right Frame	VERBAL STIMULUS	SUB-TEST
56.	White boy	Black boy	Point to the white boy.	Race labeling
57.	Black woman	White woman	Point to the good lady.	Race preference Good-bad scale
58.	Color brown	Color black	Point to black.	Color label
59.	Black girl	White girl	Point to the bad girl.	Good-bad scale
60.	Color black	Color brown	Point to the prettiest one.	Color preference
61.	White girl	Black girl	Point to the prettiest one.	Race preference
62.	Black girl	Black boy	Which one would your mommy like best?	Sex preference
63.	Black girl	White girl	Point to the good girl.	Race preference Good-bad scale
64.	White man	White woman	Point to the bad one.	Good-bad scale
65.	White girl	Black boy	Which one would you like to play with?	Race/sex preference
66.	White boy	Black boy	Boys: Which one looks like you? Girls: Which one do you like best?	Race identification Race preference
67.	White male doll	Black female doll	Which one do you like best?	Race/sex preference

ITEM NUMBER	VISUAL STIMULI Left Frame	Right Frame	VERBAL STIMULUS	SUB-TEST
68.	Color white	Color brown	Point to the bad color.	Good-bad scale
69.	White boy	Black girl	Which one looks like you?	Race/sex ident.
70.	Color black	Color white	Point to white.	Color labeling
71.	Color black	Color red	Point to the good color.	Color preference
72.	Black woman	White woman	Girls: Which one will you look like when you grow up?	Race identification
			Boys: Which one do you like best?	Race preference
73.	White man	Black man	Point to the bad man.	Good-bad scale
74.	Color brown	Color black	Point to the good color.	Color preference
75.	Color black	Color brown	Point to brown.	Color labeling
76.	Black boy	White boy	Point to the prettiest one.	Race preference
77.	White man	White woman	Which one will you look like when you grow up?	Sex identification
78.	White girl	Black boy	Which one would you like to be?	Race/sex preference
79.	Color black	Color white	Point to the bad color.	Good-bad scale
80.	White man	Black man	Boys: Which one will you look like when you grow up?	Race identification
			Girls: Which one do you like best?	Race preference

ITEM NUMBER	VISUAL STIMULI Left Frame	Right Frame	VERBAL STIMULUS	SUB-TEST
81.	White male doll	White female doll	Which doll do you like best?	Sex preference
82.	Black girl	White girl	Point to the white girl.	Race labeling
83.	White woman	Black woman	Which one could be your mommy?	Race identification
84.	Color black	Color white	Point to black.	Color labeling
85.	White man	White woman	Point to the good one.	Sex preference
86.	Black girl	White girl	Girls: Which one looks like you? Boys: Which one do you like best?	Race identification Race preference
87.	Color white	Color brown	Point to white.	Color identification
88.	White boy	White girl	Which one would your mother like best?	Sex preference
89.	White female doll	Black female doll	Which doll do you like best?	Race preference
90.	Black woman	White woman	Point to the bad lady.	Good-bad scale
91.	White boy	White girl	Which one would you like to play with?	Sex preference
92.	White female doll	Black male doll	Which doll do you like best?	Race/sex preference
93.	White girl	Black girl	Point to the Negro girl.	Race labeling

ITEM NUMBER	VISUAL STIMULI		VERBAL STIMULUS	SUB-TEST
	Left Frame	Right Frame		
94.	Black boy	White boy	Point to the black boy.	Race labeling
95.	Color brown	Color white	Point to brown.	Color labeling
96.	Black boy	White girl	Which one would your mommy like best?	Race/sex preference

APPENDIX B

SEX IDENTIFICATION SUB-TEST ITEMS

ITEM NUMBER	VISUAL STIMULI		VERBAL STIMULUS
	Left Frame	Right Frame	
2.	Black Man	Black Woman	Which one will you look like when you grow up?
4.	Black Girl	Black Boy	Which one looks like you?
50.	White boy	White girl	Which one looks like you?
77.	White man	White woman	Which one will you look like when you grow up?

APPENDIX C

RACE IDENTIFICATION SUB-TEST ITEMS

ITEM NUMBER	VISUAL STIMULI		VERBAL STIMULUS
	Left Frame	Right Frame	
16.	Black man	White man	Which one could be your daddy?
32.	White man	Black man	Which one could be your daddy?
55.	Black woman	White woman	Which one could be your mommy?
83.	White woman	Black woman	Which one could be your mommy?
<u>Girls only</u>			
17.	Black girl	White girl	Which one looks like you?
72.	Black woman	White woman	Which one will you look like when you grow up?
86.	Black girl	White girl	Which one looks like you?
<u>Boys only</u>			
31.	Black boy	White boy	Which one looks like you?
66.	White boy	Black boy	Which one looks like you?
80.	White man	Black man	Which one will you look like when you grow up.

APPENDIX D

RACE LABELING SUB-TEST ITEMS

ITEM NUMBER	VISUAL STIMULI		VERBAL STIMULUS
	Left Frame	Right Frame	
6.	White boy	Black boy	Point to the colored boy.
27.	White girl	Black girl	Point to the colored girl.
45.	Black boy	White boy	Point to the Negro boy.
54.	Black girl	White girl	Point to the black girl.
56.	White boy	Black boy	Point to the white boy.
82.	Black girl	White girl	Point to the white girl.
93.	White girl	Black girl	Point to the Negro girl.
94.	Black boy	White boy	Point to the black boy.

APPENDIX E

RACE PREFERENCE SUB-TEST ITEMS

ITEM NUMBER	VISUAL STIMULI		VERBAL STIMULUS
	Left Frame	Right Frame	
7.	Black boy	White boy	Which one would you like to play with?
14.	Black girl	White girl	Which one would you like to play with?
15.	White girl	Black girl	Which one would you like to be?
18.	White girl	Black girl	Which one would your mommy like best?
22.	Black man	White man	Point to the pretty one.
26.	Black boy	White boy	Which one would you like to be?
29.	Black male doll	White male doll	Which doll do you like best?
33.	Black boy	White boy	Which one would your mommy like best?
34.	White boy	Black boy	Point to the good boy.
39.	White man	Black man	Point to the good man.
52.	Black woman	White woman	Point to the good one.
53.	White woman	Black woman	Point to the pretty one.

ITEM NUMBER	VISUAL STIMULI		VERBAL STIMULUS
	Left Frame	Right Frame	
57.	Black woman	White woman	Point to the good lady.
61.	White girl	Black girl	Point to the prettiest one.
63.	Black girl	White girl	Point to the good girl.
76.	Black boy	White boy	Point to the prettiest one.
89.	White female doll	Black female doll	Which doll do you like best?
Boys only			
17.	Black girl	White girl	Which one do you like best?
72.	Black woman	White woman	Which one do you like best?
86.	Black girl	White girl	Which one do you like best?
Girls only			
31.	Black boy	White boy	Which one do you like best?
66.	White boy	Black boy	Which one do you like best?
80.	White man	Black man	Which one do you like best?

APPENDIX F

SEX PREFERENCE SUB-TEST ITEMS

ITEM NUMBER	VISUAL STIMULI		VERBAL STIMULUS
	Left Frame	Right Frame	
5.	Black woman	Black man	Point to the pretty one.
11.	Black boy	Black girl	Point to the prettier one.
12.	White man	White woman	Point to the good one.
20.	White man	White woman	Point to the pretty one.
24.	White boy	White girl	Point to the pretty one.
25.	Black woman	Black man	Point to the good one.
35.	Black female doll	Black male doll	Which doll do you like best?
38.	Black boy	Black girl	Which one would you like to play with?
42.	Black girl	Black boy	Which one would you like to be?
43.	White boy	White girl	Which one would you like to be?
62.	Black girl	Black boy	Which one would your mommy like best?
81.	White male doll doll	White female doll	Which doll do you like best?

ITEM NUMBER	VISUAL STIMULI		VERBAL STIMULUS
	Left Frame	Right Frame	
85.	White man	White woman	Point to the good one.
88.	White boy	White girl	Which one would your mother like best?
91.	White boy	White girl	Which one would you like to play with?

APPENDIX G

RACE/SEX IDENTIFICATION SUB-TEST ITEMS

ITEM NUMBER	VISUAL STIMULI		VERBAL STIMULUS
9.	Black man	White woman	Which one will you look like when you grow up?
23.	White girl	Black boy	Which one looks like you?
47.	Black woman	White man	Which one will you look like when you grow up?
69.	White boy	Black girl	Which one looks like you?

APPENDIX H

RACE/SEX PREFERENCE SUB-TEST ITEMS

ITEM NUMBER	VISUAL STIMULI		VERBAL STIMULUS
19.	Black girl	White boy	Which one would your mommy like best?
21.	White boy	Black girl	Which one would you like to play with?
28.	White man	Black woman	Point to the pretty one.
41.	Black boy	White girl	Point to the pretty one.
44.	Black girl	White boy	Point to the pretty one.
48.	White woman	Black man	Point to the pretty one.
51.	White boy	Black girl	Which one would you like to be?
65.	White girl	Black boy	Which one would you like to play with?
67.	White male doll	Black female doll	Which one do you like best?
78.	White girl	Black boy	Which one would you like to be?
92.	White female doll	Black male doll	Which doll do you like best?
96.	Black boy	White girl	Which one would your mommy like best?

APPENDIX I

COLOR LABELING SUB-TEST ITEMS

ITEM NUMBER	VISUAL STIMULI		VERBAL STIMULUS
	Left Frame	Right Frame	
58.	Color brown	Color black	Point to black.
70.	Color black	Color white	Point to white.
75.	Color black	Color brown	Point to brown.
84.	Color black	Color white	Point to black.
87.	Color white	Color brown	Point to white.
95.	Color brown	Color white	Point to brown.

APPENDIX J

COLOR PREFERENCE SUB-TEST ITEMS

ITEM NUMBER	VISUAL STIMULI		VERBAL STIMULUS
	Left Frame	Right Frame	
1.	Color white	Color red	Which one do you like best?
3.	Color white	Color brown	Which one is the prettiest?
8.	Color black	Color white	Point to the good color.
36.	Color white	Color brown	Point to the good color.
37.	Color black	Color white	Point to the best color.
46.	Color brown	Color red	Point to the good color.
60.	Color black	Color brown	Point to the prettiest one.
71.	Color black	Color red	Point to the good color.
74.	Color brown	Color black	Point to the good color.

APPENDIX K

GOOD-BAD SWITCH SCALE SUB-TEST ITEMS

TEST ITEM	VISUAL STIMULUS		VERBAL STIMULUS
	Left Frame	Right Frame	
Race preference items			
34.	White boy	Black boy	Point to the good boy.
30.	White boy	Black boy	Point to the bad boy.
39.	White man	Black man	Point to the good man.
73.	White man	Black man	Point to the bad man.
57.	Black woman	White woman	Point to the good lady.
90.	Black woman	White woman	Point to the bad lady.
63.	Black girl	White girl	Point to the good girl.
59.	Black girl	White girl	Point to the bad girl.
Sex preference items			
12.	White man	White woman	Point to the good one.
64.	White man	White woman	Point to the bad one.
25.	Black woman	Black man	Point to the good one.
40.	Black woman	Black man	Point to the bad one.

TEST ITEM	VISUAL STIMULI		VERBAL STIMULUS
	Left Frame	Right Frame	
Color preference items			
74.	Color brown	Color black	Point to the good color.
10.	Color brown	Color black	Point to the bad color.
36.	Color white	Color brown	Point to the good color.
68.	Color white	Color brown	Point to the bad color.
8.	Color black	Color white	Point to the good color.
79.	Color black	Color white	Point to the bad color.